

Message Text

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12
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AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
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AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 5000

E.O. 11652: GDS
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SUBJECT: SOVIET RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE

REF: STATE 175239

1. GOY RELATIONSHIP WITH SOVIETS ON CSCE IS DIFFERENT
THAN THAT BETWEEN SOVIETS AND WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES.
CONSEQUENTLY PARA 1 REFTEL REQUEST CANNOT BE ANSWERED
FROM HERE IN SAME VEIN. NEVERTHELESS, HAVE NOT DISCERNED
ANY ALTERATION IN YUGOSLAV-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP AS A
RESULT CSCE -- WHILE YUGOSLAVS SEE CSCE AS USEFUL TOOL
IN EFFORTS SUSTAIN THEIR POSITION, IT DOES NOT IN PRACTICE
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SEEM TO HAVE OPENED ANY GREATER DISTANCE OR MADE

YUGOSLAVS LESS CONCERNED ABOUT SOVIET THREAT.

2. HOWEVER, YUGOSLAVS ARE CONSTANTLY SEEKING TO USE

R AND ECPC TO GAIN ELBOW ROOM IN THEIR DEALINGS WITH SOVIETS. YUGOSLAVS ARE BASKING IN THE SUNLIGHT OF THE STATURE TITO AND YUGOSLAVIA ARE PERCEIVED PUBLICLY TO HAVE EARNED AS RESULT ECPC OUTCOME. AT SAME TIME, THEY ARE NOT FLAUNTING THIS ATTITUDE, PROBABLY OUT OF FEAR OF OFFENDING SOVIETS. IT IS MANIFESTED IN LOW-PRESSURED BUT CONTINUOUS STREAM OF EDITORIALS AND ARTICLES SUPPORTING YUGOSLAV INDEPENDENCE AND ANTI-BLOC POSITIONS IN BERLIN.

3. BEYOND THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE, YUGOSLAVS OF COURSE SEEK TO LIBERALIZE EE'S RELATIONS WITH SOVIET UNION. FOR EXAMPLE, NIN FOREIGN EDITOR MAROVIC IN JULY 11 ISSUE SEES MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF POST-HELSINKI, POST-BERLIN EUROPE AS NOT JUST "CRISIS OF CAPITALISM WHICH REQUIRES MAJOR SOCIAL CHANGES" IN WEST BUT ALSO A SOCIALIST WORLD UNDERGOING "CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES AND CONTRADICTIONS IN THE SEARCH FOR ITS OWN TRANSFORMED IN A DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT". AND HE ASSERTS ECPC OPENED UP NEW DEBATE IN WHICH ALONG WITH ANALYSIS OF CRISIS IN CAPITALIST SOCIETIES, THERE "WILL BE MORE ROOM FOR CRITICAL REVIEWS OF SOCIALIST PRACTICE" WHICH ECPC DOCUMENT ITSELF STATES CANNOT BE DISMISSED AS "ANTI-COMMUNISM".

4. MAROVIC TOLD POLCOUN THAT HIS LINKING OF SOCIALISM-DEMOCRACY REFERRED TO INTERNAL DEMOCRACY AS WELL AS COUNTRY-TO-COUNTRY RELATIONS. AS EXAMPLE OF WHAT HE THOUGHT WAS CONTEXT IN WHICH CSCE AND ECPC SPIRIT BEING BROUGHT TO BEAR, MAROVIC CLAIMED THAT BERLINGUER TOLD BREZHNEV AT 25TH PARTY CONGRESS IN MOSCOW THAT PCI COULD NO LONGER DEFEND SOVIET SYSTEM. AT ANOTHER POINT IN CONVERSATION WHEN BREZHNEV ASKED WHAT HE COULD DO TO HELP PCI, BERLINGUER SUPPOSEDLY RESPONDED THAT BEST THING SOVIETS COULD DO WOULD BE TO LIBERALIZE THEIR SYSTEM. MAROVIC AND OTHER YUGOSLAVS BELIEVE THIS HISTORIC PROCESS UNDERWAY. HE SAID THAT YUGOSLAVIA MUST AND WILL LIBERALIZE ITSELF

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TOO, THAT PRESENT "COLD" PERIOD WILL PASS.

5. BY COMPARISON, BRANKO PRIBICEVIC OF INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND ECONOMICS (AND NORMALLY SOMETHING OF A HARD-LINER) RECENTLY HAD LUNCH WITH AMBASSADOR AND SAID IN HIS VIEW BERLIN CONFERENCE MARKED END OF FIRST PHASE OF WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. WHEN DISCUSSION TURNED TO WHETHER ITALIAN

COMMUNIST PARTY OR ANY COMMUNIST PARTY WOULD GENUINELY
ACCEPT PRINCIPLES OF PLURALISM AND CONSTITUTIONAL
GOVERNMENT, PRIBICEVIC SAID THAT WOULD MARK THE END OF
SECOND PHASE OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

6. FROM HERE WE HAVE NOT NOTICED ANY APPRECIABLE
TUGGING OR HAULING IN SOVIET-WARSAW PACT RELATIONS
EMANATING FROM EITHER CSCE OR ECPC. ROMANIANS
CONTINUE TO GROUSE ABOUT SOVIETS WHILE OTHER MUTELY
MARCH IN LINE.

7. WISH TO REMIND DEPARTMENT OF OUR AGREEMENT LAST
YEAR TO REFRAIN FROM LUMPING YUGOSLAVS WITH WARSAW
PACT MEMBERS IN CSCE CONTEXT (E.G., IN NATO IMPLEMENTATION
STUDY AND IN CABLE ACTION ADDRESSEES). WE FELT THEN AND
CONTINUE TO DO SO THAT ANY HINT TO GOY OF SUCH TREAT-
MENT COULD BE DAMAGING TO OUR INTERESTS HERE. WHICH
DOES NOT OF COURSE IMPLY THAT YUGOSLAVS SHOULD BE ABOVE
CRITICISM FOR THEIR CSCE IMPLEMENTATION AND FUTURE
POLICY. IF THEY CONTINUE SLINGING MUD AT AUSTRIANS
(OVER MINORITIES ISSUES), U.S. "CIRCLES" AND OTHERS FOR
SUPPOSEDLY VIOLATING CSCE FINAL ACT, THEY SHOULD
EVENTUALLY GET SOME IN FACE THEMSELVES.
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